

HEADWAY

IN WAR-TIME

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EDITORIAL

THE LEAGUE PAYS ITS WAY

People are so accustomed to regard the Assembly and the Council as the League of Nations that a completely wrong impression might be created by the fact that prevailing conditions in Europe have prevented any meetings of these two bodies since last December. The possibility that normal League meetings might prove impracticable was foreseen at Geneva long before the outbreak of war. Emergency arrangements were made in advance to ensure that essential League activities should go on and, in accordance with those arrangements, the Supervisory Commission met some time ago at Lisbon. At this meeting, the members studied the financial position of the League, examined the budget estimates for the coming year, and dealt with various matters of urgency affecting the different League organisations.

Next Year's Budget

The Supervisory Commission approved a budget which, although considerably reduced as compared with that for 1940, will permit the essential

organs of the League to function in 1941. There is no need to go into all the reasons why a smaller budget has become a regrettable necessity. Chief, of course, is the extension of German control over so large a part of the European continent which, temporarily at least, has made a big hole in effective League membership. Such countries as Denmark, for example, could scarcely be blamed for failing to pay.

These hard facts of finance have had to be taken into account by the Supervisory Commission. But, although the League coat has had to be cut according to its cloth, the League will be perfectly well able to pay outstanding bills, and also to carry on with a substantial programme of activities during the next financial period. The budget will cover not only the League work still going on from Geneva but also the League and I.L.O. activities transferred to Princeton and McGill University.

Foresight and Its Reward

Provident finance in past years is now standing the League in good stead. Still, it is increasingly important that

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all States, whose loyalty to the principles of the Covenant remains unshaken by the tragic events of the time, should make every effort not only to pay their due contributions, but to pay them as early as possible in the financial year.

It is pleasant to record that the good example set by the British Government is one reason why the League is able to pay its way. When, about a year ago, it was publicly announced that the British contribution for 1940 would be paid in one lump sum as early in the year as possible instead of by instalments spread over the year, this had a stimulating effect upon other nations.

The League's Eternal Cause

The period of intense political and economic nationalism which has culminated in the war will have to be succeeded by renewed action along the lines of international co-operation. It is only by recognising the common interests of all States in restoring international trade and in post-war recon-

struction that a secure and progressive development of human society can be ensured in the future. This was one of the principal objectives for which the League was brought into being. Amid the stress and strain of to-day, this cause remains eternally true. Humanity will not be content that the world should continue to be the scene of warring ambitions. When the time comes for rebuilding, the League machinery, subject to whatever modifications may be found necessary, will have an essential task to perform. Meanwhile the vital matter is to maintain the League in being and to keep such organs as can function in effective operation. The League is not dead, nor is it asleep. Its work continues in all the continents; and the recent labours of the Supervisory Commission have been directed to ensuring that, wherever possible, constructive League activities shall be maintained with the maximum efficiency.

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WORLD SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR

A USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

Representative members of League of Nations Societies of Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Greece and Poland met members of the Union's Executive in London on Thursday, November 14, to exchange views on world settlement after the war.

Lord Lytton, welcoming the visitors, referred to the Executive's Statement of Policy, a copy of which had been sent to each, and said, "Do you share with us our general picture of the world as we would like to make it if it were in our power to do so?" "Peace aims," Lord Lytton added, "are an essential feature of war strategy. Telling the world, and telling your enemies, what you want to do with victory, is one of the ways of achieving it."

Lord Cecil indicated the chief points of the Executive's Statement and stressed that it would be particularly valuable for the Union to have the views and general impressions of those present.

Visitors expressed themselves as being in agreement with the general principles of the Statement. Some emphasised the need for closer co-operation in the economic sphere and in the formation of public opinion. In connection with the setting up of Regional Groups suggested in the Statement, reference was made to the recent agreement in London between the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments to enter into a closer political and economic association on the conclusion of this war—a co-operation based on respect for the freedom of

nations, the principles of democracy and the dignity of man, in which the two Governments concerned hoped that they would be joined by other nations in that part of the European continent.

Practical outcomes of the meeting were an agreement that the visitors, in consultation with their friends, would send to the Union their views and suggestions on the Statement; and a decision to hold further meetings, the necessary arrangements to be made by the Union, with a view to considering those views and suggestions and ensuring continued co-operation.

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REFLECTIONS ON OUR POLICY

By NOWELL SMITH (Member of the Executive)

Readers of the November HEADWAY will have read the Statement of Policy to be presented by the Executive Committee to the General Council on December 6, and some of them will be taking part in the discussion of it either immediately after or possibly even before this number of HEADWAY appears. Its acceptance, with or without amendment, by the General Council will not, however, be the end of the matter. The next step will be to "get it across" to the branches and supporters of the Union and to as wide a public as possible. And even while we are doing this we must realise that it is by no means a final or complete statement of policy.

Our critics, some prejudiced, some merely impatient of discussion about matters which they have never bothered to understand, are apt to represent us as wasting energy that ought to be expended on "winning the war," as presuming to advise the Government on "World Settlement After the War," when neither we nor the Government know how or when the war will end or what will be feasible when it does, and finally as discredited by the evident failure of the League of Nations to prevent the appalling orgy of destruction to which the young and strong are actively and the old and weak are passively devoted.

There is no justice in any of these three allegations. The first is mere trifling with words. It is recognised by Government, by Parliament, by the Press, by everyone who stops to think, that the war cannot be won or even fought by material arms alone, that consciousness of a purpose beyond mere physical self-preservation is essential to

sustained endurance and endeavour, that it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between war aims and peace aims, and that propaganda is one of the most powerful weapons and depends for its effectiveness and ultimate justification on its true interpretation of the purposes and tendencies of the Governments and peoples on whose behalf it is used. It is certainly very far from wasting energy if the L.N.U. strives to carry out in war-time the very objects for which it was given its Charter, which may be fairly summed up as the propagation of those principles of international morality for which the British Commonwealth of Nations has engaged in this unrelenting fight.

"Buying up the Opportunity"

The charge of presumption is equally unjust, though more plausible. Neither the Statement of Policy nor the resolutions submitted to the General Council fall under the censure of "counting your chickens before they are hatched." We must assume indeed that, in general terms, our side will win the war, and will therefore incur the immense responsibility of taking the lead in healing the wounds and repairing the ravages of war and in attempting to build up an international order with a better promise of stability and well-being. That much we all assume; without it even hoping for the future would be vain. But neither the L.N.U. as such, nor its Executive, nor any responsible spokesman for the Union pretends to know beforehand what is going to happen or what will be feasible at any particular future moment. Our function is to make the best use of the lessons of the past,

to make them known and understood by as wide a public as possible, and thus to prepare our own minds and the minds of others to "buy up the opportunity" when the power of the enemy is for the time being overthrown. For unless we do buy up the opportunity, that is unless the statesmen of the nations base their plans and agreements upon the convictions and will-power of a sufficient number of persons in the nations for which they speak and act, it is quite certain that discontent and ambition and the desperate recourse to violence and war will upset any so-called "World Settlement" long before it has the chance to become more than a name.

The Failure and the Moral

This brings me to the third and much the most damaging criticism of the activity of the L.N.U. Not only our unfriendly critics, but many of our past and even present members (e.g., some from whom I have lately been collecting their annual subscriptions) say "The League is dead, and whether dead or not has failed in its one supreme object, that of averting war. What then is the use of a League of Nations Union?" Now we all know the short answer to the statement that the League has failed. It is that the failure of the League to prevent war was not that of its idea, its principles, its Covenant, or its machinery, but of the Governments of the Great Powers which refused to make use of it to keep the peace. That is true. No doubt improvements could have been made in the Covenant and in the machinery. Suggestions for improvement were made from time to time and even adopted. The Kellogg Pact was intended to be an additional safeguard. But the basic

cause of failure was the refusal of the Great Powers to work the system which they had set up. This is duly stated in our Statement of Policy, Article 10 and explanatory notes thereto, and the moral is drawn in the concluding Article 25.

The Union's Mission

So far so good. But this is not enough for us as the L.N.U. The answer to the question "What then is the use of a League of Nations Union?" is, in my opinion, first and foremost to convert the people of all classes in this country to such a conviction of the necessity of an international order for the maintenance of peace and the just settlement of grievances that no British Government will be tempted to abandon the support of such an order for the sake of some supposed immediate national advantage. Some such mission has always been professed by the L.N.U. and has been earnestly practised too; but it has always been overshadowed and often actually, though unintentionally, counteracted by eager but ineffective attempts to play a direct and decisive part in the politics of the day. We have never deserved the all-too-frequent imputation of party spirit. Our motive has always been simply to uphold the principles professed by the leaders of all parties and proclaimed in our Charter. But I have constantly felt that we have been apt to mistake our strength, our weapons and the use of our resources, and that we ought to pursue an equally sincere, but more subtle, steady and persuasive method of converting our fellow-countrymen to a living sense of the necessary conditions of real and lasting peace. Perhaps the Editor will allow me later to return to this subject.

THE BRANCH FRONT

One big public air raid shelter in the London area has become the scene of almost nightly informal discussions on international affairs in general and the League of Nations in particular. The air raid warden in charge of the shelter is well known locally as a worker for the Union. Spontaneously, she found herself discussing the topics of the day with the regular users of the shelter. Soon these impromptu audiences were growing, even casual visitors listening with the keenest interest, and sometimes joining in the talks and arguments. This is only one example of the way in which ready audiences can be found to replace more formal public meetings when these are ruled out. Such gatherings—and we believe that they are becoming increasingly common—are in essence study circles or discussion groups, though they may not be so in name.

From Mr. J. G. Drummond, Secretary of the Cambridge Town Branch, comes a useful suggestion which we gladly pass on: *When members move away to other neighbourhoods, will Branch Secretaries promptly report the new addresses to Headquarters? Then Branches in the areas to which the members have gone will be able to lose no time in establishing contact.* Cambridge's experience is probably shared by many other places. To balance the war-time migration from the town, a good many new people have come in. Some must have belonged to the Union elsewhere, but the Branch seldom hears about them except by accident. It is understandable that much of the routine work of Branches has been upset by war conditions. Still, if Branch Secretaries

will take the hint, the systematic exchange of information regarding membership movements will undoubtedly prove mutually advantageous, and will strengthen our whole movement.

Cambridge's recent activities have included a tea meeting, at which the Branch's representatives talked about the Union's Week-End School at Knebworth. An air raid warning did not prevent an attendance of 40, which was above the peace-time average for such meetings.

Mrs. Corbett-Ashby, speaking at Guildford on "Preparation for Constructive Peace Now," outlined the Executive's new statement of policy.

"Bournemouth District still flourishes," writes the Chairman, "and I think I can foretell very increased support." Two successful "socials" in October and November were addressed by a local clergyman and an ex-M.P. This month the speaker will be the new Rural Dean. On Remembrance Sunday, a well-attended service in a Nonconformist Church had an Anglican preacher, the then Rural Dean.

Already there is a winter flavour about Branch programmes. Thus the Blackburn Branch held a successful Whist Drive as a means of keeping contact between members. In more serious vein, the Branch was addressed by a Ministry of Information speaker from Manchester.

Stalybridge Youth Group arranged, as antidote to the black-out, a dance in the Town Hall, which attracted over 200 people. Music was provided by the band of the Manchester Regiment. Not only was the useful sum of £15 raised for the Mayor's Fund, but local inhabit-

ants were reminded that the Union is still very much alive.

Along with a handsome donation to Headquarters (the result of a recent dance), the Morecambe Youth Group sends details of a really "live" programme, which includes a series of "listening group discussions," a debate, week-end rambles, a Christmas Carol Party, and a Czech evening sponsored by the Senior Branch. Cordial relations have been established locally with the R.A.F.: Youth Group members are giving one night a week to helping in the Canteen, and are organising a discussion group for the airmen.

Many of our Branches are showing enterprise in replacing the public meetings which, in some though by no means all parts of the country, it is no longer possible to hold. Thus the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Branch is running a series of "Saturday Afternoon Discussions of International Questions." The programme covers League of Nations Policy, World Peace Aims, Federal Union, the Humanitarian Work of the League, and the League's Future, culminating in a "Retrospect" of the series at the Annual Meeting next March.

Another series of four meetings on "The Free Frenchmen," "Do We Deserve Peace?" "Federal Union," and "Some Economic Aspects of the War" is being run by the New Earswick Branch.

Frodsham is one of our Branches which, after a dormant spell since the war started, have decided that the time has come to be "up and doing." "We have really begun working again," writes the Hon. Secretary, "and it is easier than I expected."

The Goole Branch, which since the outbreak of war had kept in touch with members through a Branch Letter and by exhibiting the Union's posters, launched out with a Remembrance Day meeting on the evening of November 11, at which the Mayor of Goole took the chair for Mr. W. Arnold-Forster. Branch funds are in a healthy condition, and a further extension of activities is contemplated.

An interesting story lies behind the not unfriendly paragraphs on the Union and the League, which appeared recently in the widely read "Londoner's Diary" of the *Evening Standard*. Glancing out of a railway carriage window, a member of the staff of this newspaper happened to notice one of the Union's posters. His curiosity aroused, he took steps to find out if the League and the Union were still alive, and what they were actually doing. The result was the useful publicity referred to above—*started by a poster-board!*

West Mersea Branch reports that its collection of subscriptions for 1940 is already 100 per cent. of last year. This despite evacuations. Members have still been sending in their subscriptions from distant parts.

"What the future of the British Commonwealth will be I do not know; but it may be that it will become the pattern and member of a yet wider confederation, of a second and better League embracing all the nations of the world."

LORD CRANBORNE,
(Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.)

POST-ELECTION AMERICA

By HELEN PARKINS GAUNTLETT

[The author is Executive Secretary of the "Americans-in-Britain Outpost" of the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The London "Star" recently described her as "quite an important figure in the Battle of Britain."]

The keynote of post-Election America is unity; unity of a depth and degree of unanimity not achieved since the early days of the Republic; a unity which has come, paradoxical though it may seem, from one of the most bitterly fought elections in American history. It is a unity devoted to one aim—all aid to Britain in the face of a danger to which the United States has not yet fully awakened.

To say that the election was fought entirely on the issue of foreign policy is, of course, inaccurate. The great floating mass of voters, neither Democrat nor Republican, which gave Roosevelt his third term in the face of a tradition beginning with the first President, is the little man, the forgotten man, who has seen in the New Deal a hope for survival, an answer to his appeal for the right "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," which his forefathers believed self-evident, but which in the "post-World War I" years seemed to be forgotten. Mr. Willkie did, after all, represent "Big Business," and had, moreover, fought bitterly and very publicly the T.V.A., most cherished of New Deal projects, as a champion of private "public" utilities against the little man.

Why Willkie Was Defeated

Yet, in spite of this, the outstanding issue of the campaign was foreign policy. Mr. Willkie protested long and vigorously his burning desire to aid Britain, pro-

missing to do even more than Roosevelt; the President simply acted. Anti-Roosevelt men attacked the President, his party and his policy as "hell bent for war." Willkie promised that the United States would keep out of war, that not one single soldier, airman or seaman would be sent to fight in Europe or the Far East. Roosevelt answered that he intended to keep the country out of war, unless she were attacked. Perhaps the greatest factor in this field leading to Willkie's defeat was the unsolicited, and undoubtedly embarrassing, support given him by Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund, the Communist Party, Lindbergh, Ford, and the whole queer assortment of Fascists, Isolationists and Communists, plus the known desire of the Axis-Japanese bloc for Roosevelt's defeat.

Willkie's own party did not by any means share his views on aid to Britain; hence not only was he defeated, but a Democratic majority was returned to Congress, ensuring co-operation with the President's line, co-operation which would have been impossible in the case of a Republican majority and Willkie as President. Even more than as an expression of confidence in the President, this significant majority points to the rejection of isolationism, and when individual cases are considered, to disapproval of those members of Congress who opposed aid to Britain.

With unity of country and as complete support as is possible for the President

in Congress—what will America do now? Immediate results have already been seen. A tremendous amount of aid had already been given Britain before the election—great quantities of arms, munitions, planes, 50 destroyers. The estimate in September was that one man in four under arms in Britain was equipped with American materials. Now, under the President's "rule of thumb" policy, half of all America's war production will go to Britain, including the famous Flying Fortress. War industries are rapidly being stepped up, and if the President finds voluntary co-operation lagging (a rather remote possibility in the great majority of cases), he will use his wide powers to mobilise industry under government control.

The Johnson Act

There is a widespread demand for repeal of the Johnson Act forbidding credits to nations defaulting on last war's debt. According to a Gallup poll taken November 19th, 54 per cent. of the people favour repeal. A Bill to this end will probably be one of the first on the Congressional Calendar in January.

More destroyers will probably be given shortly. In addition, there is a growing demand in the Press for the active co-operation of the U.S. Navy in convoy duties, and even this is well within the realm of possibility. A naval agreement, similar to that covering the Caribbean and American coast, which would take in the whole Atlantic from Greenland and Iceland to Dakar and points south, is reported under consideration.

Ever-increasing aid of all kinds there will be. Whether or not this will lead to a declaration of war remains to be seen. Even in September a significant majority of the people favoured helping Britain even though it meant American partici-

pation. That majority is higher now. There has been a considerable and increasing, though yet comparatively small, publicly expressed desire for a declaration of war; a feeling noticeably larger after the announcement of the Axis-Japanese Pact. As yet, however, it would appear that the people, as a whole, prefer aiding Britain as a means of keeping out of actual and formal participation. In spite of this, few now believe America can stay out, and Congressional declaration in the spring will not be surprising.

Eyes on Japan

In the Far East, Administration and people alike are determined on increasing pressure on Japan. The situation is regarded as of such serious nature, that war with Japan is considered a distinct possibility. A total Government embargo upon all goods to and from Japan is expected in the event of a Japanese push towards Singapore, and it is generally realised that such opposition to her continued aggression will mean war. Announcement of an agreement with Britain, granting American use of British air and naval bases in the Pacific area, with the aim of effectively increasing American defence power, as well as giving Britain aid in a sphere where she can no longer offer full resistance, is expected.

Defence is, of course, looming very large. The Army is small and lacking much equipment; planes are needed. Along with the push to give all aid to Britain is the push to re-arm America, but British orders are being given priority. Consultations similar to those being carried on with Canada are going ahead with Latin and South American countries. Economic as well as military and naval implications of hemispheric defence are well known to the State Department, and all attempts possible to

weld the Continent into a whole, following along the lines of the Havana Conference, are being made.

British War Aims ?

With all this American determination to aid Britain, stop aggression and appeasement, many questions remain in American minds. Why is there no official statement of British war aims is the largest now looming—the chief point of the rapidly dwindling anti-British group, but it is by no means limited to such elements. As in Britain a considerable amount of discussion on post-war problems has been carried on. The William Allen White Committee is devoting a considerable amount of its efforts to such discussion, and attempts to crystallise American opinion along the lines of taking a constructive part in the peace. But, constantly, in the Press and in private reports, one hears the question of British war aims raised. Americans are democratic first and foremost, not only for

their own but for all countries, and while America realises that this is her war as much as Britain's, and will continue to give all possible aid, many wonder if Britain shares her view that democracy must prevail in countries other than England and America when the struggle is ended.

Other questions, sending food, for example, occupy the thought of many people, but this question of war aims remains the paramount issue, and not only Americans turn their attention to the words of President Roosevelt in his recent speeches, notably his Armistice Day speech:

"I for one do not believe that the world will revert either to a modern form of ancient slavery or to the control vested in modern feudalism or modern emperors or modern dictators or modern oligarchs in these days."

And not only Americans look for further and more positive statements, and wonder if they will come from London or Washington.

A SPEAKER'S TOUR IN WAR TIME

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

I have been asked to tell HEADWAY my impressions of the speaking tour for the L.N.U. which I have just finished. How does such a tour under war-time conditions compare with such tours in previous years?

Fifteen meetings were planned for the fifteen days, and none of these were cancelled. One was in Lancashire, the rest in Yorkshire. In addition, five addresses and discussions in schools were improvised as I went along. Nearly all the meetings were well, or fairly well attended, considering the circumstances, and nearly all were lively, keen, ready

with good questions. At Sheffield, on a pitch dark, pouring wet, night, the audience numbered between two and three hundred. If it had been peacetime and if the speaker had been some well-known public figure, the numbers would, of course, have been much larger than that; but I thought it was good under such conditions, and its gathering must have involved much effort. There were some really good meetings in other places, such as Scarborough and Ilkley, very poor ones in West Hartlepool and at a factory in York, and one real flop, the meeting at

Leeds on the afternoon of Armistice Sunday. (Perhaps Sunday afternoon was an ill-chosen time, or perhaps the lack of such organisation as still exists in Sheffield was too severe a handicap.)

Full Marks for Schools

I was cheered and impressed by the vivid interest, intelligence and information shown in the schools to which I was invited. The questions I got from those girls and boys—not all in the Sixth Form—were in nearly every case as good a bagful as a speaker could wish for. In truth, there was much more evidence of quickened interest and candid questioning in those young audiences than in many of the adult ones. I felt again, as I have felt strongly in many parts of the United States, that what has been achieved during the past ten or fifteen years in many British and American schools in promoting understanding of "current events" will soon bring new health into the working of democracy. I take off my hat to those who have been teaching, and stimulating discussion about, contemporary history in those Yorkshire schools.

I was cheered, too, to hear of the experience of a number of branches about their membership subscriptions. Broadly speaking, it seems that in Yorkshire (as in places in the South that I know something of) last year's members are still very willing, in the great majority of cases, to pay their subscriptions if the Branch can arrange for collecting them. The falling off in subscriptions is due far more to the difficulty of finding people, under war conditions, to do the laborious job of collecting than to a further loss of faith in the soundness and value of the Union's work.

I picked up one story which deserves record in HEADWAY. A man nearly 91

years of age recently brought his subscription to one of the Yorkshire branches with the explanation that he had doubled the amount this time, "because next year I may not be able to come and pay it." No mean spirit, that!

In Yorkshire, as elsewhere, one finds that branches are up against the popular view that "the League is dead," with the inference that Mr. and Mrs. X needn't bother their heads any more about the problems which the L.N.U. has been dealing with. In Yorkshire, too, the demands of war service, the black-out, and the bombing naturally make it extremely difficult to keep a movement such as ours in good health; though in this respect Yorkshire's difficulties are probably less formidable at present than those which face branches in areas that have been more heavily bombed. I came to the conclusion that, if the Union could manage to produce an up-to-date leaflet, suitable for collectors, answering in simple language the contention—"the League is dead"—this would be very useful. No jargon. No looking backwards. Simply an honest discussion with Mr. and Mrs. X, on the assumption that they want this war to result in the kind of peace that has the best chance of enduring and growing up.

What People are Thinking

I was only meeting a tiny section of the population of this country. I met most of these people only as a speaker and as an answerer to questions. So my impression about what people are thinking is far from being reliable as a guide. But I do want to record some general impressions which I derived from these meetings. Manifestly, this nation as a whole is taking this war in a way that is much

less barbarous and vengeful than that shown in the last war or the Boer War. Moreover, there is, I believe, a much more realistic understanding now than there was a few years ago that war-making requires potent ideas as well as potent arms, and that peace-making will involve much social and economic, as well as political, construction.

Evidently, if we are to produce that liberating revolution in Europe which is needed to break Hitler's tyranny, we shall have to inflict a major military reverse on the Nazi war machine: and that means that we must have more arms, especially in the air. But we cannot forge or wield this greater weapon effectively unless we can maintain, during the ordeal ahead, such national unity as we have seen here since last May. And that unity was based, partly, on a universal sense of common danger, partly on a tacit assurance by the privileged Britain to the underprivileged Britain that an honest and sustained effort shall be made to weld the two Britains into one by far-reaching, peaceful social and economic changes. Hitler's amazing success in splitting and defeating an already divided France has helped to spread realisation of the need for collective security on the home front if we are to win through to the kind of peace we desire.

Fighting With Ideas

Like Hitler, we must fight with ideas as well as arms; and if the ideas of "liberty," "equality," democracy, are to be effective as our slogans, we must leave no doubt as to the sincerity of our championship, especially by our action within the British Commonwealth. At almost every meeting I got the impression that there was keen anxiety about the way in which British relations with the Indian peoples are now drifting.

Those audiences did seem to be aware that the measure of Britain's success in helping to make India united and free is widely regarded abroad as the supreme test of our democratic professions, and that the failure to win India's whole-hearted collaboration in the war (due not by any means wholly to failures on the British side) greatly restricts the full development of the Empire's war potential. I did not evoke this profound concern: it was there already. No need for me to point out that the imprisonment of Nehru, who should be with us as one of the world's greatest spokesmen for liberty and democracy, is a tragic symptom of a failure which imperils our moral and material authority as builders of a new League of Nations.

Wanted—a Declaration

Besides achieving this new unity among ourselves, we must, if we are to win the peace, win the support of all, free and unfree, who can be enlisted against tyranny. We shall not achieve the European revolution or enlist the full support of our friends overseas unless we show clearly—more clearly than hitherto—that we stand for an international order which will serve their interests as well as ours, a political and economic order which offers them Food, Freedom, Peace and such justice as we claim for ourselves. Nor shall we achieve a working collective peace system unless we can create confidence that we shall play our full part in such a system more reliably than we have sometimes done in the past. And so there is growing, quickly I believe, a conviction that our Government should, with no more delay than is necessary for proper consultation with our Allies, indicate in broad outline the kind of

(Continued on page 16.)

AN ACTIVE UNIVERSITY SOCIETY

The Oxford University League of Nations Society is taking full advantage of the prevailing interest in international questions. In co-operation with the University political clubs, it has arranged a programme of eight meetings and is supporting two others organised by the Oxford City Branch. Ten meetings with first-class speakers in the space of six weeks! To plan and successfully carry out so ambitious a programme is a really fine achievement. As showing what can be done where enthusiasm is coupled with initiative, we think that Oxford's activities during the past few weeks deserved to be recorded in detail.

A Full Programme

- Oct. 23. DR. EDWYN BEVAN,
"World Reconstruction."
- Oct. 29. H.E. DR. HALVDON KOHT (Foreign Minister of Norway),
"Norway during the Twentieth Century."
- Nov. 4. LORD STRABOLGI,
"Sea Power in the Present War."
- Nov. 6. COUNT M. KAROLYI (Former Prime Minister of Hungary),
"The Future of a New Hungary."
- Nov. 15. FRANCIS WILLIAMS, Esq.,
"Revolutionary War."
(Joint Meeting with O.U. Democratic Socialist Club.)
- Nov. 19. VERNON BARTLETT, Esq., M.P.,
"Foreign Commentary."
(Joint Meeting with O.U. Liberal Club.)
- Nov. 21. Jkr. D. J. F. DE MANN (of the Dutch Mission in London),
"Free Holland." (City Branch Meeting.)
- Nov. 26. F. P. WALTERS, Esq. (Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, 1933-40),
"French Foreign Policy since 1919."
- Dec. 2. Joint Meeting with O.U. Conservative Association.
- Dec. 5. Miss CLARE HOLLINGWORTH,
"The Balkan Countries." (City Branch Meeting.)

This, it must be emphasised, has been no mere paper programme. The meetings have been well attended, and have resulted invariably in lively discussions. And there is still more to the story. Three Study Groups have been running, at times that would not clash with the principal meetings.

Study Groups

"We are fighting Nazism to preserve — ?" has been the general title of one series. Discussions have been led by Count Zamoyski, the Master of Balliol, Miss M. Perham, and Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

The St. John's World Affairs Group has had discussions opened by Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. A. L. Rowse, Dr. A. J. Brown, and Miss Headlam-Morley.

Finally, the Study Group on "Church and State" has had as its leader the Rev. Fr. L. Watt.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW

Ten educated men and women have more influence than hundreds of those who do not know and have no chance of knowing. That is why, when they hear the word "know," the Nazis instinctively reach for their revolvers. They dare not risk a battle with Brains.

Among Books of the Month, two stand out pre-eminently for recommendation. Both are small; but the facts are dominating, the ideas dynamic.

The first is *EUROPE IN CHAINS*, by *Paul Einzig* (Penguin Special, 6d.). Hitler, like the Devil, can quote Scripture—even if he only knows the corruptest version. There is much boasting of Germany's New Order for Europe: Goebbels's Golden Age is on all German lips. But, in all this shouting, it is vital to get at the facts. Dr. Einzig gives them—hard, irrefutable truths. And, when we know these, we know precisely what we are fighting against, and that the term "Hun" is a more exact definition than it ever was before; and at the same time can put a new knife edge on our propaganda against the whole Nazi way of life. Dr. Einzig throws the cold light of evidence on the devilish, cunning methods by which Germany at the present moment is reducing whole classes of the conquered nations in Europe to slavery and poverty. The same results appear in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France; and there is the framework for plenty of extension elsewhere. Food and raw materials have been seized, stocks in all retail shops looted or depleted. Payment in the form of forced loans (in the case of Norway actually forged notes) of course spells inevitable inflation of these countries' currencies. In all these countries the economic system is being re-adjusted, simply to fit German military and economic interests. Factories and industries of all kinds competing with Germany are being closed down,

and the way deliberately prepared for depressing the standards of living of all conquered peoples. In all cases the working classes have to do forced labour. Everywhere the Gestapo reigns supreme. Difference of treatment, where it occurs, is one of degree, and may easily change. "Most favoured ill-treatment" is dealt out to-day to Czechs, Dutch, and, above all, Poles, for whom Germans have a sadistic hatred. Slavery has simply been re-introduced plus, for the Poles, decimation. Culture, language, education are all being blotted out—in the name of a German Millennium. It is well that British readers, and those across the Atlantic, should face up to this living horror. For this is the fate planned out to the last iota by the Nazis for our effete civilisation also; and with what gusto it will be inflicted here—if Germany wins!

Secondly comes *WE FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE*, by *Basil Mathews* (Collins, 6d.). Brilliant, wise, the stuff of inspiration! If one out of ten who think or talk of the Future would read this booklet, the very climate of our country about a New Order in this "infinitely unfinished world" could be changed. Just two alternatives: Conquest, obliteration by Nazi battalions; dragooning, scourging nations into ignorance and serfdom; a fight for the worst of the Past, back in the Black Mass with Satan at the altar? Or a fight for the Future? For the broad ideals of the British Commonwealth, so freely followed by a quarter of this globe, and to-day as eagerly by America, powerful and splendidly young? With the compass set for freedom, and self-government, and that co-operation for which the League still provides "incalculable possibilities" of common good? These and no others are the true pangs of the birth of a new civilisation. "Let us set our workshop ready against to-morrow's light."

Three larger books deal with the com-

ing of the war and its possible ending. There is much to learn from them for the future. *TWENTY YEARS' ARMISTICE AND AFTER*, by *Sir Charles Petrie* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 7s. 6d.) is a useful addition to the history of British foreign policy since 1918. Reading with an eye to the end of this war, we can at least avoid the blunder of the Allies, who were utterly unprepared for peace and its main principles when it fell upon them in 1918. Perhaps we may hope to avoid the almost extraordinary failures of the Foreign Office to forecast the course of events (for they were not for want of persistent warning); and Sir Charles may be right in believing that the future of Italy may be less hopeless and black than that of Germany, where a whole generation has been scientifically poisoned.

In *THEY WANTED WAR*, by *Otto D. Tolischus* (Hamish Hamilton, 10s. 6d.), a brilliant American correspondent leaves it in no possible doubt that war was implicit in Nazism, a bigger thing incidentally than its priest and prisoner, Hitler. Democracies must face up to the advantages which totalitarians have in time of peace—open military preparations and economic mobilisation, an iron discipline and a low standard of living, which make government "crisis proof" as long as the "system" lasts. The snag is that these advantages need war, and a successful war. But Mr. Tolischus bluntly warns his own country of the danger in which amorphous American Democracy lies, exposed both to deliberate Nazi undermining through many racial groups, and to the fanatical brutality of Japanese military aggression in the East.

Dr. Gustav Stolper in *GERMAN ECONOMY, 1870-1940* (Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.) completes the Trilogy of Nazism as War. He helps to smash the "stab in the back" myth of Germany's collapse in 1918. It was the direct result of military, economic

and physiological processes. The dangerous weakness of State regulation of economics is emphasised—for, if it fails, confidence in the State dies. That was the Nazis' chance. But Dr. Stolper is convinced that, if Hitler had wished, he could always have found an outlet for German products, without the vast re-armament which was bound to end in war. But he did not wish. And military defeat is now the only hope for a new Germany.

Whatever happens, three new Oxford Pamphlets should not be missed—*GESTAPO*, by *O. C. Giles*; *WAR AND TREATIES*, by *A. D. McNair*, and *BRITAIN'S BLOCKADE*, by *R. W. B. Clarke*. The last is a remarkable analysis of methods of speeding up the effect of blockade by scientific bombing, so that by 1941 Axis weaknesses should certainly develop. The final pages deal with the question of relief to occupied territories. This year there is no likelihood of widespread starvation. To-day it is a plain question of distribution—which rests entirely with Germany. Conditions of raising the blockade for humanitarian reasons are indeed outlined, an obvious one being withdrawal of German troops from "starvation" areas; but as yet they do not appear to bite on reality.

Finally, another PENGUIN Special (6d.), *THE INTERNMENT OF ALIENS*, by *F. Lafitte*. Here we find very full details, often tragic, of the results of the mistaken policy of the British Government in wholesale internment of aliens. Whether there was momentary justification for military alarm in the early summer of 1940 is arguable; but there is surely no questioning the glaring political blunder of regarding Hitler's worst enemies as our own. Mr. Lafitte exposes this error in his book, which is brought up to August. Much still remains to be done; but Parliament and democracy have once more proved the value of public criticism. Since August at least 6,000 aliens have been released from internment camps.

FROM "HEADWAY'S" POST-BAG

Two Points

SIR,—I venture a comment on two points in your November number:

(1) "It was said that other members of the League would not back us up" (page 3). We never tried to find out, and I suggest that the reason was the tradition of our Foreign Office. In the days before the League it was rightly reluctant to put forward suggestions for the remedy of an international wrong, because this country would be expected to back them by force if necessary, and the injured party was likely to act on that expectation. But under the League it was clear that we should not use force except to support the League's decision. Therefore, it would have been right for us to put forward a proposal which the League might reject, as we should not be binding ourselves to

A SPEAKER'S TOUR IN WAR TIME

(Continued from page 12.)

peace we want to help to build. We need this declaration soon, to hold together and sustain our own people, to rally and reassure our friends, and to divide our enemies.

I found a general impression that the document prepared by the Executive and printed in last month's HEADWAY is a useful contribution so far as it goes, though necessarily indecisive; and that the promised supplement on Economic and Social Reconstruction is most necessary. Whatever the difficulties, the Union must tackle this side of peace-making more bravely and thoroughly than in the past.

carry it out by our own strength only, and this the Foreign Office appears not to have realised.

(2) As regards the revision of unjust treaties, there is a provision for this in the existing Covenant. Why did the governments that held themselves injured by the Treaty of Versailles ever attempt to make use of it?

Loughborough. J. WALLIS CHAPMAN.

Sacrifices Needed

SIR,—The courage and generosity of HEADWAY in printing the letters of N. Hargreaves and M. A. Molesworth in the same issue fill me with admiration. I find myself substantially in agreement with N. Hargreaves.

Let us change our present policy if only because it forces us continually to acclaim one set of half-truths and condemn another. To that fact "One of our Oldest Branch Workers" (amongst how many others?) owes his, or her, unconscious difficulties. In spite of it, most of us have had ample opportunity for recognising that the old League of Nations, whatever its conception, was faulty and selfish in execution and—mainly on that account—met with, and made for, disaster. Active recognition of that whole-truth can still help to shape for the better both present and future. Acclamations of the more comfortable half-truths and denouncements of less comfortable ones only help to stiffen self-righteousness and the spirit of domination and war.

Hull.

B. BURNE.

[Owing to unusually heavy demands upon our space this month, we are compelled to hold over many letters from readers. Once more we ask correspondents to be brief and to the point.—ED.]